



THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,
(Now *EARL of ORFORD*)
VINDICATED, &c.

[Price Six-pence.]



[1742?]

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RIGHT HONOURABLE
Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,
(Now EARL of ORFORD)
VINDICATED,
In the CASE of the late Lord Viscount
BOLINGBROKE.

By a Brother Minister in Disgrace.

*One Shift remains, embrace it while you may,
Steal to the Coast, take Shipping and away.*



L O N D O N :

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Covent Garden, and sold at the Pamphlet Shops of *Lon-*
don and *Westminster*.

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ST. JOHN BAPTIST

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THE Tide of popular Re-
sentment begins to run so
strongly against the Right
Honourable Sir Robert Wal-
pole, that I am sensible it will
be looked upon as very fulsome, and as a
sort of Participation of his Crimes to en-
gage in his Defence. Let not any one be
surprized that I step forth as his *Champion*,
who have heretofore appeared as his *Pane-*
B *gyrist.*

gyrist. However, the World may imagine I do not owe him so friendly an Office; yet the Remembrance of my own former unhappy Case inclines me to have a Feeling for him, from a Parity of Circumstances, as well as from a Greatness of Soul, it shall still be my Pride to manifest.

His late Resignation has diffused an ill-natured Joy among the People; and affords no less Matter of Speculation to the Curious. A Majority of sixteen on the Country-Party no sooner appeared, than the Right Honourable Person in Question was observed to go out of the House; and, as I am informed, he immediately went to St. *James's*, and laid all his Employments at the Foot of Majesty. The next Day the King was pleased to desire the Parliament would adjourn themselves, and accordingly they stand adjourned to *Thursday* the 18th Instant.

Majority, no doubt, is a terrible Word, and this now noble Personage was too sensible of its Consequences not to be affected by them; and therefore with good Reason he was hurried into this seemingly precipitate Step, lest his Enemies should take Advantage of this favourable Incident in
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as hasty an Impeachment. The Motives to this Adjournment are variously talked of: The Courtiers, in the 1st Place, assure you it was asked, to allow Time to his M——y to fill up vacant Employments: Others look on it as the last Effort of State Cunning, either to elude the Public Justice, by reconciling Animosities, or to prepare himself for such a Trial, as should put him beyond the Reach of Party, by a proper Removal of State Papers. Others again suggest, that such sort of Delays (a Dissolution, I hope, is out of the Question) will likewise gain him Time to make himself Friends in a foreign Quarter, in case he should not care to trust to the Royal Pardon.

Another Sett of more sanguine Declaimers are pleased to harrangue with great Freedom on the Royal Request, representing it as not altogether suiting the Dignity of Majesty, and scruple not to call it the Height of Arrogance in the Adviser. They go on, and tell you that his Expectations are as idle as vain, if he hopes to make a safe Retreat by Means of a healing Compromise. Were it only his Posts and Power that the Country Party were ambitious of, (as has been over and over

represented by the Gazetteers and other Mercenaries) this Resignation might be sufficient, say they, to stop all further Enquiry, and we should see, as he wishes, nothing but Contention in the Pursuit of them; but the Patriots, add they, to their eternal Glory, have not wrote, spoke, and voted to such shallow and unpopular Purpose; they hold in the utmost Contempt the Acceptation of Employments on such dishonourable Terms; they have not had the Virtue for such a Series, to stem the Torrent of Corruption and every National Grievance, to submit at last to be the Property of the Corrupter; much less will they render themselves, by such a mean Conduct, the Authors of all our Complaints, and take his Load of Odium upon their own Shoulders, however he may, according to his usual Modesty, expect it, in Consideration of his long and faithful Services; and therefore the Voice of the People seems to say, they are determined to hold out as one Man till the Justice of the Nation is appeased.

It is thus they reason — And as the united Spirit of the Country Party, and the Impatience of the Public will, in all Appearance, very soon ripen Matters to the
Exami-

Examination of this new-made Nobleman, let us impartially consider the untoward Aspect of his Affairs, and see whether he deserves so liberal a Censure as the World is pleased to bestow on him. Let us in the mean time be as charitable to him as we can, and not be too free in our Appellations, since, if he has been guilty, there is no Possibility of our being as yet Judges of his Misdemeanours. Alas! how common is it to have a Man's Actions condemned, without knowing what they are! and thus perhaps his lately ennobled Name may be blasted in its Bud, without any more Reason for it, than because it is WALPOLE. Let his present Situation rather remind us of the Instability of popular Caresses; for he, whose Name was mentioned in the Year *thirteen* with nothing but Rapture and Applause, has, in the Space of some Years, almost by the very same People, been used with the utmost Scorn and Derision ——— But to proceed:

The general Argument made Use of to prove his Guilt, is, his flying into the House of Lords, and eluding, by every Artifice of State, a public Examination of his supposed Crimes. This is reckoned a strong Suspicion of his Mis-conduct, and
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setting the Seal of his own Conscience to the Objections made against him.

And yet this is but what has been done by several eminent Persons, when they have found it impracticable otherwise to bear up against a provoked Nation; and very often such Subterfuges have turned as much to the Advantage of the Kingdom, as the Safety of the Person. This elevated great Man doubtless knows the Resolution and Power of his Enemies, to take away both his Reputation and his Life, and therefore is obliged by the strongest Tye of Nature to pursue the Measures he has taken.

And it will appear as evidently some Years hence as at present, whether or no he has deserved the Punishment which is threatened him. It is only the Loss of a little *Bloodshed*, and the not satiating the worst Passion that belongs to human Nature, if it should be proved that he is guilty. But it is certainly too hard and unjust to load him with the worst Crimes, without a better Proof than Adjournments and seeking Shelter in the House of Lords. No Man indeed ought to entertain so mean an Opinion of his Countrymen, as
as

to imagine, that they would go upon no other Ground for Prosecution than a *Sacrifice of State*. And yet it is plain, that a Conduct not entirely unblameable, perhaps, may be so enflamed by the Exaggeration of Enemies, and the critical Circumstances of Things, as to make it even necessary, in Point of Policy, to suffer a great Man to fall. Far be it from my Intentions to think there is a just Parallel in the following Case: Every one knows the greatest Crime of Sir WALTER RALEIGH was his *Inveteracy* to the *Spanish* Party. That great Man has been acquitted in the Judgment of Posterity; tho' such was the Embarrassment of the *Councils* at that Time of Day *at Home*, and the *Thirst* of *Revenge* so great *Abroad*, that a good and wise Prince could not help parting with the Life of as valuable a Subject as ever owed his Birth to *Great Britain*.

I said before, that I did not esteem this Case quite parallel; but when a *Man in Danger* is to judge for himself, he may be pardoned a little strained Construction. *Inveteracy* to the *Spanish* Party indeed cannot be laid to the Charge of the late Minister; nor has he any thing to fear for want of Complacency to the *French Interest*;

rest; yet tho' he may not have Cause to dread a *foreign Revenge*, who is it will say he has not Reason to guard against a *Home Resentment*? There is as yet no Impeachment against him, nor any Accusation but general Rumour; and therefore every one is at Liberty to judge of his Guilt or Innocence, according to his own Opinion. And I dare pronounce there is no Man in the Interest, he professes himself to be in, but would readily acquiesce in allowing him a public Judgment, and a fair Hearing.

Many are the Reports that are propagated, and for various Ends. Every Day is big with some new Reproach against the Minister for his pernicious and delusive Practices; or with Apprehensions of distant nameless Consequences, that are justly alarming to the true Friends of his M——y.

But since People are fond of talking in the Dark, it may not be amiss to answer in the same way, and imagine what such a Man as the present Earl of *Orford* might say in Defence of his Conduct, as the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Walpole*.

The Coffee-House *Machiavels* inform
us

us amply where the Objections lye, and we will answer with the same Allowance of Supposition; for no farther can the Partisans of either Side pretend to go.

They say the Administration he was concern'd in, has behav'd for a long Series in a most scandalous Manner, both in Peace and War; and that he, in particular, has had the deepest Share of any Man in giving up the Interest and Honour of his Country.

They say further, that by such weak and wicked Management, he alienated, as far as in him lay, the Hearts of his M——y's Liege Subjects; and that the Emissaries of the *Gentlemen at Rome* could not have taken Measures more favourable for his Interests than he has done.

To this we will suppose that he may reply; that the Variety of our Treaties, and the Badness of the Convention objected against him, are not owing to him, or the Administration, but to the Obstructions rais'd against any Treaty or Convention at all; and that the said Embarrassments flung in the way of the Transactors, are the true Causes why we have not reap'd

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all

all the Advantages we might have expected from our Public Stipulations.

As to the Convention, that has been the Subject of so much Clamour, we have seen it approv'd by Parliament, which seems entirely to absolve the Conduct of the Minister on that Account. If it had wanted that Sanction, it would have been justly deem'd the Minister's own Act and Deed; but as it did not, there can be no reasonable Argument brought that will any way affect the *Convention-Maker*.

If this is the real State of the Case, the Ill Consequences of the Treaties are not so properly to be laid to the Account of the Minister concern'd in making them, as of the Enemies who oppos'd them. When Affairs were so circumstanced, as that he was afraid of falling a *Sacrifice at Home*, if he had not frequently stav'd off a War by *Concessions Abroad*, there was a Necessity of determining one way or other; and surely, in my Opinion at least, he is justified in his Choice of the latter.

The Breach of National Faith, in deserting the late Emperor, so much insisted upon, is another Point, which deserves Consideration.

Consideration. Whatever Fault there was in this Affair it must be laid at the Door of the English Ministry ; as if the English Ministry were able to *bear all*, as well as capable of *doing all*. It was thought prudent at that Time not to fulfil our Engagements without the Concurrence of the *Dutch* ; yet I will venture to say, that we and the *Dutch* should have engaged heartily in his Cause, and thereby prevented the Accession of *Lorrain* to *France*, had not the Conduct of the Emperor singly prevented it.

As to the unhappy Necessity the Queen of *Hungary* has since been reduced to, the Minister very justly attributes it to her own Obstinacy, in not receiving Law from *Prussia*, and since, accepting the offer'd Partition. However, he still continued so much her Friend, as to procure her an Aid from Parliament, which all the World knows has been remitted to her, and how soon. What wonderful Things it has enabled her Troops to perform, are too recent to need a particular Detail.

This perhaps may mitigate the harsh Reflections made upon the Honour of the *English* Nation in this Particular ; and if

it does not absolutely acquit them, it is certainly the most favourable Representation can be made in their Behalf.

In case of Public Demands for stipulated Succours, Inconveniences may arise, that would puzzle the wisest Heads to get clear of. It is easy to talk heroically; but sure it may be made a Question, whether there is not some Spice of Madness, and no small Portion of Enthusiasm, visible in many of the Actions of this unhappy Princess.

The Diminution of our Trade, the Increase of our Debts, Taxes, Excises, Penal-Laws, and Standing-Armies, are Articles that compose the next Head of Complaint against the Minister; but as no Government can possibly subsist without them, I shall rank it as an idle, common-place Charge, that deserves no further Reply.

We come now to an Objection that has been productive of much Noise and Clamour; I mean the languid Conduct of the present War with *Spain*. For my part, I cannot see any just Grounds for all the Obloquy he stands charged had on that Account. It was agreed on on all Hands, that the Scene of War ought to be carried into the
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West-Indies : There our Force was to exert it self, which I think has been done with acknowledgd Success, how far soever sanguine, rash People may carry their Expectations; and if Winds, and Waves, and Climates, have not in some Instances been with us, for God's Sake let not the Bitterness of Party transport us so far as to call his Fidelity to his Country in Question; much less to insinuate, as if he was an Enemy to the Illustrious Family on the Throne. Nothing can be more easy than to wipe off this Aspersions, as it is well known what a Drudge he has been in their Service. Let the Civil List, and the most obsequious Submissions witness for him. If there is a Scheme, or even a mysterious Letter, that looks a-squint that way, to be produced under the Hand of the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*; if any thing in his Conduct hashad the least Tendency to unhinge our happy Establishment, then are all his Friends struck dumb, and satisfied at once. When this appears, then neither his Capacity for Business nor his Liberality to his Friends, nor his signal and manifold Services to the Prerogative, shall protect him from the Scorn of his Country, and the Reproaches of the present and all future Generations. Yes, Sir; if once this
comes

comes to be the Case, and makes a part of your Character, your best Friends, even I, your Advocate, can do no more than to wish you the Fate and Punishment of the first Vagabond; an uneasy Soul, and continual Terror of being slain by every one you meet. Then not one, even of your own *Gazetteer* Muses, shall dare to whine out an Elegy on the *latent Traytor*.

But in Justice even to an Enemy, let us not charge him with an *Hypothetical* Guilt, and damn him upon a *Supposition* of Treason. But I know it will be urg'd, *Why has he Recourse to Adjournments and Patents?* If any Man who knows him was to give an Answer to that Question, he would say, *that Sir Robert Walpole is too tenacious of Life to part with it to gratify* (as he may think) *only the Resentments of his Enemies.* Self-preservation, which one part of Mankind talk so much of, is a dear Passion, and a Principle which every one likes, as well as they.

Without Offence to any Party of Men, and with a just Deference of better Judgment, I am inclined to consider the Consequences of this Minister's Measures to secure himself, both as they may affect himself, and the Nation. For

For Argument sake, then, I will suppose him *Innocent*. No one but those who have been so unhappy to fall into the like Sufferings, can be Judges what a Turn such an Accident can give to the greatest *Lover* of his Country: How insensibly the honest Passion for it's Safety and Honour, may wear off by ill Usage, and a new Spirit of Aversion, whetted by continual Afflictions, commence. Histories swarm with Instances of this kind, and human Nature is always the same in every Age and Climate; nor can there be wanting Arts and Sollicitations to work upon the steadiest Resolutions.

The *Persian* Monarch used to thank *Greece* for all her Exiles; and found nothing more beneficial to his Affairs, than the Present of a *Hero*, or a *Statesman*.

*Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur
Atfidæ.*

Far be it from my Heart to intimate that the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Walpole* will ever act so dishonourable a Part. A bare Protection, a Refuge in the *evil Day*, is all he would desire, in case he should be driven from those Expedients
which

which every Man has a natural Right to make Use of, when they are conducive to his own Preservation. *Slander* indeed may say, that the Person he has served with his best Offices, will never fail of a due Return; but he must have a mean Opinion of his Countrymen, that can think any of them so base as to have preferred the Interest of a foreign Nation to his own.

We have already taken notice of a Cavil, made on a Supposition of his removing State Papers. In this again he is fully justified on the foresaid Principle of *Self-preservation*; for if he did not take Advantage of the Nation, the Nation would certainly take Advantage of him to his Perdition.

As to personal Frailties, the Minister no doubt has his Share with the rest of Mankind; and however his Love-Intrigues may afford Subject for private Scandal, we shall pass them by as unworthy Public Enquiry.

They who charge him with *Corruption*, I'm afraid know little what they say; and I dare answer they never saw him change a *Louis D'or*, or a *Dobloon* in their Lives.
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With what Face of Truth can it be said again, that he is guilty of *Bribery*, unless People will be so unreasonable to call giving away little Scraps of Paper on certain charitable Occasions, by that odious Appellation.

We are now insensibly brought to another grand Item of Accusation against the Minister — I mean his immense Riches. What Discourses have we not heard of sumptuous Villa's! Palaces for Princes! Millions in Painting! and all amassed from a mere nothing! But when Matters come to the Test, I believe the World will find all this inestimable Treasure, these Millions said to be the Price of a *sold* Country, and his vast Tracts of Land, vanish like *Fairy-Ground*, and be dwindled into the honest and well-gotten Competency round *Houghton*. Others, on this Occasion, launch out into ill-natured Criticisms on the vast Possessions also of the various Branches of his Kindred; but as we think it irregular to complicate their Affairs with his, we shall observe a profound Silence as to that Point.

I will not pretend to justify my Reasonings by the Event of Posterity, and
D decide,

decide, that this newly transmigrated Peer, like the great *Clarendon*, will absolutely be absolved of Opulency in the moderate Circumstances of his Descendants; but I think it but very equitable, and much for every one's Interest to have Patience, till we shall have a Proof how this Accusation stands: If we live to see the Trial, and find this Accusation all groundless, we shall have a generous Pleasure to come before we dye; and if Providence should think fit to call us before, then we shall avoid a great deal of Vexation of Spirit, in case it should turn out as it is represented, and his Posterity should securely lord it with more than Princely Magnificence.

Upon the whole: If it appears with any tolerable Shew of Evidence, that this hard-driven unfortunate great Man, whom I think I have effectually justified, and, I am sure, with Pleasure gone thro' the Defence of, has nevertheless merited the Sentence of National Justice; if it shall be found, that he has betrayed our Interests Abroad, and beggared, and nigh enslaved us at Home; if he has imposed on the Royal Ear, and bewildered M——y in the Mazes of false Representations, may he meet the Punishment due to his Crimes;
and

and tho' he is endeavouring by all Ways and Means to elude it, may yet the just Vengeance of his injured Country, in Spite of all *Finesse* and *Sham*, overtake him, and her Attonement be made not without his Blood! But if, upon Examination, his Innocence stands revealed; if all the terrible Accusations formed against him, are either the Inventions or Malice of his Enemies, then the Shame and Confusion be upon their own *Heads*!

And therefore, from these Considerations, the Trial of the Minister is now absolutely become the Cause of the K—g, the Nation, and the Patriots.



POST-



POSTSCRIPT.

AT the same time that I transmit this Defence to the Printer, which I have the Vanity to hope will be approved of both by M——r, K—g, and Nation, I enclose a Letter to accompany it, which the C——l was pleased to put into my Hands, and is in Answer to one he received from the M———r since his Resignation. Lest Mr. *H——ce*, from the Distraction of public Affairs, should not be in a Condition to give a Version, out of the Abundance of my Zeal, I have here subjoined a faithful Translation of it.



His



His E-----y to the M-----r.

S I R,

YOUR Packet is just put into my Hands by your trusty Courier *Money*; and I have the Honour to return you, by him, my Sentiments upon it. Among the disagreeable Articles of Intelligence I have of late received from different Quarters, assure yourself, Sir, none can be more so than the Account you give me of your Resignation, tho' accompanied with that of your Advancement to the Peerage. I am convinced there remained nothing but that Expedient for you, and I greatly approve every Step consequential to it. I am of Opinion with you too, that there is an absolute Necessity for you to take your Trial for Form-sake; and that a State Amusement cannot be more effectually carried on than by the Refinement you mention on that of the Earl of *Oxford*.

Yes, Sir, permit me to say, I cannot so heartily congratulate you upon your Promotion,

motion, till I see that your Safety is the certain Consequence of your new Dignity. Then indeed my Satisfaction will be complete, as your *Fall* from Power will then be *truly* your *Exaltation*.

I could wish with you, that the Councils of *Spain* were more pliant; being entirely of your Opinion, that nothing would so much contribute to a general Pacification, and all the other great Ends in view, as a critical Concession on their part, of certain popular Advantages to your Nation. This, as you justly observe, would have its Influence on your Tryal; this would enable you, as you wisely propose, to bring over the New **** to our Sentiments; and this single Point, properly managed, might in its Consequences be more than equivocal for what might be yielded up by *Spain*. In fine, nothing is so desirable as such an Event, and be persuaded, Sir, all in my Power to that Purpose shall be attempted. I need not tell you how untractable her *Catholick* Majesty is, and that her Pride is not inferior to her Ambition; I dare not therefore flatter you too much with the Success of my Endeavours.

In all Events, however, let the Majority triumph

triumph to their utmost Wishes; let your People be ever so much incens'd against you; tho' you should be even ready to ascend the Scaffold, be not yet dismayed; you have still a Resource at Home in the wise Perseverance of a merciful Prince; or if that should fail from any untoward Incident of better Information, or superior Recollection, you know where to be assured of a certain Asylum, as well as those who must necessarily be involved in your Misfortunes; and that from a Principle of Justice to your Complaisance to our Nation, as well as a natural Propensity in my Countrymen to Hospitality towards Strangers; but, on this Occasion, it will be more particularly exerted in your Favour, by,

S I R,

Versailles—

Yours, &c.

P. S. I just now learn your Monarch's Pleasure to the Deputy Earl Marshall for regulating certain Privileges, Precedencies, and Preheminencies to be observed in public Assemblies to your Daughter. I cannot conceal my Concern at this premature Step, and could have wished that *Vanity* had given way to *Policy*, at this critical
Juncture

juncture especially, when every Accession
 of *Illwill*, is an additional Weight in the
 Scale against you, I fear you will draw
 down the Resentment of the *British* La-
 dies upon you by it: Your taking Shelter
 yourself in the House of P--rs, was suffi-
 cient to put People upon malicious Con-
 structions concerning *Nobility*; there need-
 ed not a fresh Provocative to Enquiry;
 and therefore I cannot forbear repeating,
 that it should have been delayed, if not
 absolutely avoided, as you yourself must
 agree to, when you call to Mind the Share
 the *Roman* Ladies had in the Extirpation
 of *Tarquin*.

F I N I S.

